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Rajendra Chola's Marches through Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra

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In lieu of Introduction - Rajendra's sojourn to Bengal is cross-checked and vouchsafed by the local literature of Bengal

Rajendra Chola's eastern coastal march towards Bengal has been recorded in the inscriptions and studied by many, but, his sojourns through Karnataka, Andhra and Maharashtra have not been studied. Therefore, an attempt is made in this paper in that context. To cite one example as to how the prasasti claims can be cross-checked with local literature. When Rajendra proceeded towards the north, he must have evolved a strategy of

gathering army, or with such pre-arrangement, he must have mobilised respective local armies for assistance. Thus, how Karnataka soldiers/army could have accompanied up to the Ganges is shown by a Sanskrit drama. The Tirumalai rock inscription¹ dated to 1012 CE, being a Prasasti, does not mention such details, but the desired details are supplied by an ancient manuscript discovered by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara PrasadaSastri and now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1893, Hara Prasada published² notes on a find of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts among which was a drama

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named Canda-Kausika (dated to c.1300-1358), by AryaKhsemsvara. This play was enacted before the king by his order, containing a verse in which the king Mahipala I is compared with Chandragupta and a people named Karnatakas, to the Nandas. So this contemporary work gives the credit of defeating the Karnatakas to Mahipala-I. The Karnatakas seem to be the southerners who invaded Bengal under Rajendra Chola I. It appears that though Mahipala-I was defeated by Rajendra Chola when he crossed into Radha (Ladham) from East Bengal, he prevented him from crossing the Ganges into Varendra or Northern Bengal, and so the Chola conqueror had to turn back from the banks of the Ganges. The invasion of the Chola king did not change the political divisions of the country, but it left one permanent mark in the shape of a body of settlers, who occupied the thrones of Bengal and Mithila as the Sena and Karnata dynasties during the latter days of the Palas.

The marital and martial alliances and conflicts, the Cholas had with Rastrakutas

About Ratta, Rathore, Rashtoda, Rastrakuta etc., there was some confusion among the scholars in interpreting such words and expressions - Rettapadi, Rattapadi Nadu, Rattarajya, Rattamandalam, RattapadiEzharai-ilakkam [seven-and-a-half-country], appearing in the inscriptions. However, J.F. Fleet discussed the issue elaborately and concluded that Rattas were Rastrakutas only.³ Rastrakuta King Krishna-II (880-915) married away his daughter to Aditya-I (871-907) and wanted his grandson Kannara / Kannaradeva to become the King of the Chola kingdom.⁴ When it could not get materialized, he marched towards Tanjore with army, but, got defeated at Vallala (Tiruvallam, North Arcot dist.⁵) Another Rastrakuta King Govinda IV (930-935) married the daughter Ilangopitchi / Veeramadevi of Parantaka - I of Chola dynasty. Govinda had to flee to Tanjore, his father-in-law place when Amoghavarsha - III (935- 939) tried to consolidate his power and marched towards Tanjore in 949 with Bhutunga, Banas and Vaidumbas.⁶ In the battle of Takkolam, Rajaditya was killed, and Thondamandalam was under the control of Krishna - III, the Rastrakutas. In 1007, Rajendra ransacked

Rattamandalam. In 1019 also, Rajendra defeated Jayasinga and captured Rattapadi. Rajendra again conquered it during the period 1057-58, defeated Someswara-I Ahavamalla and erected a victory pillar at Koppan.⁷ Thus, each expression might have different connotation like Cholanadu, Choladesam, Cholavaram, Cholamandalam, etc., in the context. When Amoghavarsha defeated the Cholas, the area of Rattadesa / Rastrakuta was vast covering western coastal areas up to Gujarat covering the areas of Karnataka, Madhyapradesh and some areas of Andhra and Kalinga. When the Cholas started campaigns against them, their ruling areas got diminished. Incidentally, as Rastrakutashad love-hate relationships with Palas, Gahadavas etc.,⁸ the Cholas were too having such affairs with them.

During the Rajendra Chola period, Rastrakutas 1735-907 CE became feudatories, and their armies merged with the Cholas

Rastrakutas of the Deccan are frequently mentioned in their inscriptions as born in the Yadava lineage. A branch of this dynasty might have settled in Kalinga during their incursions into Kalinga during 9th or 10th century CE. Benoychandra Sen⁹ doubted that their names and titles do not bear any known trace of Rastrakutas, as they are Jatavarman, Vajravarman father of Jatavaraman and so on. Thus, they might have been employed by Rajendra during his campaign towards the Ganges. In other words, by Rajendra Chola time, they could have become their feudatories, and their armies merged with the Cholas. The Candakausika identification of Kanatakas with Chalukyas appears to be correct in the context. Therefore, these Rastrakuta or Karnataka soldiers were brought by Rajendra and were defeated by Mahipala, when Rajendra left.¹⁰ With Tailapa-II (973-997 CE), the Rastrakutas virtually reduced to feudatories.

The feudatories of the Cholas registering their presence in the Central and Western areas

Among the Kadambarulers, after Ravivarman (c.500-538), their power started diminishing and they eventually became feudatories at different times of the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas. Thus, the Kadambas of

Hangal ruled between the mid-10th and early 13th centuries, and the Kadambas of Gopakapattana or modern Goa between the 11th and mid-13th centuries CE, with a low profile, though, they continued to use the title “Banavasi-puravar-adhisvara”, reflecting their claims over the earlier capital Vanavasi and dynasty. In the same way, the Kongalvas (1070-1177) and Changalvas (1004-1106) were considered as separate dynasties, and they had the names of the Chola kings proving that they were also acting as the feudatories of the Cholas. All these dynasties or groups of Karnataka were associated and assisted the Cholas during their campaign towards the Ganges.

Chakrakottam, Churakottam, Chitrakut, Vizakapatnam

“Chakrakottam” identified as a city in Vatscha Rajya of the north-western district of Visakhapatnam. It was situated eight miles south of Indravatiriver and capital of Vatascha Rajya, now identified as Bastar State Madhya Pradesh. Now, it is known as “Chitrakootam” as mentioned in the inscriptions.¹¹ Virarajendra was confronting with Agavamalla who was evading and he ran away to the western coast, without facing Virarajendra. However, the Mysore inscription recorded that he died by submerging in the Godavari water at Guruvarti in 1068.¹² Vikramangadeva Charitra, a literary work also recorded the event in the same manner.¹³ Thus, Vikramaditya, his second son, took avenged by conquering the areas of Vengi, Chakrakootam etc. He stayed on the banks of Krishna and conducted last rites for his father.¹⁴ Kulotunga Chola [1070-1120] also defeated the king, Tharasvarsha of “Chakrakottam”. Kalingattubaranivouchsaves the event several times.¹⁵ He brought many elephants from there, as the temple building activities required elephants. If this Chitrakut, Chitrakottam is identified as Chuttrakut of Nasik, then, it should come under the Maharashtra area.

Rajendra covered important cities of Karnataka touching Maharashtra

Rajendra's inscriptions recorded that in c.1014, he conquered the areas of Idaiturainadu, Vanavasi, Kollippagai and Mannaikkadakkam¹⁶ before 1016.

In 1004, Talkad conquered by Rajaraja. Sadasiva Pandarattar identified Idaiturainadu as a place situated in between the rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra, as done by others.¹⁷ As inscriptions note as “Edattor Irandayiram,” it could be identified as Raichur Zilla of the erstwhile Bombay Presidency, now in Karnataka¹⁸ north of Hemavati. Kollippagai is Gulbag (Gulbarga, Kalaburagi) north-west of Hemavati, mentioned as “Kollippaaggai 7000” by later day inscriptions. Mannaikkadakkam is Malked south of Gulbag; Vanavasi is Banavasi west of Hemavati far away from it, almost, near to west coast, mentioned as “Vanavasi 12,000,” by later day inscriptions. Mannaikkadakkam is identified with “Maniyakedam,” Malkad, capital of Rastrakuta Kings. In 1019, he defeated Jeyasinga, western Chalukya king and annexed Muyangi and “Rettappadi^{1/2}”. Belagamve inscription recorded this event. Muyangi is identified with Ussangidurgam in Harpanahalli Taluk, Bellary Jilla. In 1054, Rajadhiraja [Yanai-mel-tunjiya-devan] was killed by the Chalukya king, Someswara - I at Bellary. The Rajadhiraja-I conquered Kalyan / Kalyanapuram and brought Dwarapalaka as a memento.

The Karnataka connection with Bengal and SEA countries

The Kaundinyagothra Brahmins of Karnatakadeasa migrated to South East Asian countries and the dynasties stated were with the marrying of a Brahmin with a local princess.¹⁹ Dhandabhukti was mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription is found in the ‘Ramacarita’ commentary. Ramacarita was composed by Sathyakara Nandi. All Sena inscriptions agree in stating that the Sena kings were descended from a family of Karnata Kshatriyas, i.e. from a family, which originally came from the Kanarese-speaking districts of Southern India. Though the Chalukya King, Vikramaditya VI of Kalyana, is said to have invaded Bengal during the lifetime of his father Somesvara I,²⁰ it cannot be told that the Chalukya Kings effected any permanent conquest in Eastern India. However, on the other hand, the invasion of the great southern conqueror Rajendra Chola I seems to have left some permanent marks in Bengal. Dharmapala of Danda-bhukti defeated by Rajendra and Rajendra's general was mentioned as

Sivanatha and Mahipala died in 1032 CE. Coming to SEA connection, the kings of the Sailendra dynasty of Srivijaya ruled not only over the greater part of Sumatra but also in Central Java, portions of the Malay Peninsula, and in numerous islands of the Archipelago. There is a tradition (mentioned by Arab travellers) of their overrunning Cambodia. They maintained friendly relations with the Pala kings of Bengal and with the Chola kings of South India. The Chidambaram inscription dated 1114 CE recorded that a Kamboja king presented a stone inscription to Rajendra Chola.²¹

Rajendra's march towards the Ganges and its impact

The conquest of the Imperial Cholas²² up to the Ganges has been doubted by some historians,²³ in the same way as they questioned the naval expeditions carried out to conquest the South East Asian countries.²⁴ However, had they not gone up to the Ganges, they would not have crossed Andhra, Telangana and Kalinga without encountering with the ruling kings of the coastal areas to reach Bengal. The battles, the Cholas fought with the ruling Andhra and Kalinga dynasties during 10th-11th centuries prove their ambition of marching towards Bengal.²⁵ In fact, as per the Cholas inscriptions, they carried out the naval conquests in 1025, only after conquering the coastal areas up to the Ganges in 1021. Though historians have dealt with the political relations among the dynasties of South India in general, M. RaghavaIyengar has shown the relation and connection between the Tamils and Andhras since Sangam period²⁶ specifically. M. Rama Rao²⁷ has touched upon a few issues while dealing with the "Karnataka-Andhra relations". Many others have treated the subject matter as a whole under "South India", but, D. C. Ganguly²⁸ has dealt with "northern India during eleventh and twelfth centuries". Interestingly, during the 10th- 11th centuries, there had been more movement of the poets, religious teachers and kings from South to North, whereas, the Arabs / Turks / Mohammedans invading from the north-west and the Buddhist Tibetans / Mongols / Chinese / Kambujas intruding from the north and north-east.

Did Rajendra sojourn upto Gujarat?

In interpreting, "Dakshinalata," scholars surmised with different place names. This name has been taken to be the equivalent of "DaksinaLata" by Kielhorn, which is the ancient name of Southern Gujarat.²⁹ but Hultzsch and Venkayya took it to mean "DaksinaVirata" or Southern Berar." Venkayya was a great authority on Tamil, and he supposed that "the Tamil term "Ilada" did not correspond to Sanskrit Lata (Gujarat) but Virata (Berar).³⁰ For this, R. D. Banerji commented that³¹ "But nowhere did it strike the learned scholars that the order in which the countries are mentioned, prevents us from supposing that either Berar orGujarat is mentioned". R.D. Banerji pointed out,³² "No sane man would turn from Orissa to conquer Southern Gujarat or Berar and then return to the East to conquer East Bengal, after which he turns back to the West to defeat Mahipala in North Bengal and again rushes to North Gujarat or Berar to conquer it. The more natural explanation is that Rajendra Cola defeated Ranasura, the ruler of Southern Radha and then passed on through that country to invade Vahga. From very early times a part of Bengal has been called Radha". Next, in order comes the subjugation of Dandabhukti. The province has been identified by Hara PrasadaSastri with the modern province of Bihar because the ancient name of the town of Bihar was called Otantapuri by the Tibetans and Adwand Bihar by the Muhammadans. However, other historians differ. When Malwas from the north and Cholas from the South were continuously barracking Manyakheta, the Western Chalukyas moved to Kalyan, near to Western Coast. The Cholas pursued after them to Kalyan. Rajadhiraja-I conquered Kalyan / Kalyanapuram and brought Dwarapalaka asa memento. Therefore, Gujarat was not far away from Kalayan, and the Cholas might have gone there, at least for discussing, planning and forming a strategic alliance against the Turks / Mohammedans.

The North Indian Kings affected by Mohammed Gazni

The Paramaras appeared in the Gujrat region as the feudatories of the Rastrakutas, in the middle of the tenth century CE. HarsaSiya (c.943-73 CE), who is said to have come into conflict with his suzerainty,

probably materially contributed to their downfall. The next king Vakpati (II) Munja (c.974 CE) was a great warrior and, according to the inscriptions, fought with the Karnatas, the Latas, the Keralas and the Colas and occupied Tripuri.³³ The process of disintegration of the Pratihara Empire was particularly hastened by the repeated invasions of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. The contemporary account of Mahmud's Indian expeditions, left by 'Utbi, reveals that in A.H./1018 CE. when Mahmud for the first time sacked Kanyakubja, "the city of seven forts" and "ten thousand temples", a certain Raijaipal was on the imperial throne. Mohammed Gazni in 1017, attacked and ransacked Kannauj, Meerut, and Muhavun on the Yamuna, Mathura and various other regions along the route.

While moving through Kashmir he levied troops from vassal Prince for his onward march; Kannauj and Meerut submitted without a battle. In 1018-1020, he ransacked the town of Mathura. Then, in 1024, he looted Ajmer, Nehrwalla, Kathiawar. The Somnath temple and citadel were sacked, and most of its defenders massacred. Again in, 1025, Mahmud sacked the Somnath temple and personally hammered the temple's gilded Lingam to pieces, and the stone fragments were carted back to Ghazni, where they were incorporated into the steps of the city's new Jama Masjid in 1026. He placed a new king on the throne in Gujarat as a tributary. His return detoured across the Thar Desert to avoid the armies of Ajmer and other allies on his return. In 1025, he marched against the Jats of the Jood mountains who attacked his army on its return from the sack of Somnath. In 1030, he died.

Gahadavalas's relationship with the Cholas

The most interesting inscriptional evidence of Govindacandra's diplomatic relations is found at Gangaikonda-Colapuram. This inscription is incised below an inscription of Kulotcuhga I, dated in his 41st regnal year and gives the Gahadavala genealogy in the usual style from Yasovigraha to Candradeva. Though it ends abruptly, the date in the preceding inscription shows that it belongs to the reign of either Madanapala or Govindacandra. The northward expansion of the Colas at this time brought them into

hostile contact with the Kalacuris, and Dr H. C. Ray has pointed out that this probably was the bond of sympathy between the Cola emperor and the Gahadavala monarch; according to him, this inscription was probably written by some Gahadavala prince who may have visited the Cola capital.³⁴ Another evidence of the friendly relation between the two countries is supplied by the Set-Mahet inscription of Govindacandra (V.S. 1176) which records that the king made certain grants at the request of two monks, one of whom was an inhabitant of the Cola country. Odradesa or Utkala also may have been friendly with the Gahadavalas, as the other monk mentioned above was a resident of that country.

Gahadavalas followed the Cholas' taxation system

Gahadavalas imposed a tax called kumara-gadianaka, that has been spelt variously in the inscriptions as kumara-gadianaka, kumara-gadiyanaka, kumara-gadiyanaka and such like; Rama Niogi pointed out that,³⁵ "It appears that with some other taxes, this tax too was adopted by the Gahadavalas from South India, retaining the South Indian coin-name gadyanaka; probably the cultivators in South India were required to pay an amount equal to one gadyanaka for some specified measure, and the due in the Gahadavala kingdom came to be known as kumaragadyanaka or gadidnaka". NilakandaSastri attributed their close relationship was due to Sun worship,³⁶ "The increased emphasis on Sunworship in the Cola country in Kulottunga's reign may be due to the close association with the Gahadavalas, who were great worshippers of the Sun." The Cholas' method of land surveying, taxation and water management systems influenced others very much.

Turk Tax or Turuskadanda

This expression is found characteristically in the Gahadavala inscriptions, implying Indian kings to collect a contribution especially for the foreigners within their dominion. "Turuskadanda" was levied for the first time in the reign of Gahadavala State, by Chandradeva, as per the inscription dated 1097 CE. It has been interpreted³⁷ variously as –

1. a tax on aromatic seeds,
2. a tribute paid to Ghazni by the ruler of Kanyakubja, or
3. a tax levied on the Muslim settlers in Kannauj, whose existence is known from the *Kamilut-Tawarikh*, or
4. a tax levied on the Hindus to ward off the Muslims.

The last explanation brings us to the suggestion offered by Smith³⁸ and supported by Ghoshal, Altekar and Rangaswami Aiyangar, and the contribution was collected for the Turaska war, to ward off the Turuskas. Altekar has pointed out that a similar tax was levied by a Chola king, Virarajendra, to finance his war against the Chalukyas of Vengi. C. V. Vaidya³⁹ interpreted that this tax was collected to make an annual payment to the Sultan of Gazni to avoid raids against Indian kingdoms. This proves that the fighting Indian kings were well aware of the menace of the Turuskas, Turks or Mohammedans and hence to confront them with the army and as well as paying the ransom. As Cholas and Gahadavalas were having a close relationship, they were seized about the Mohammedan attacks. Moreover, it also proves that Indian kings had already started some collective efforts to contain the Mohammedan attacks as they were not following any battle ethics, as followed by the Indian Kings.

The Cholas marching towards "North"

When Ghoris, Khiljis, Mohammed of all sorts from Gazni and other places invading Bharat through north-west from middle-east and through north from Central Asia, it is not incredible, implausible or unbelievable for the Cholas to march towards Western coast, Maharashtra and Gujarat. While the Mohammedan narratives were accepted only based on their court chronicles, the Cholas march towards the north has been based on inscriptions and cross-checked with local literature. The inscriptions of Karnataka, Andhra and Maharashtra, in fact, give their versions of the event taken place. In other words, in the inscriptions themselves, historiographical pattern as could be observed. In the case of "Chakkarakootam / Chitrakut," the Cholas conquered it, and the Chalukyas also recovered back. The inscriptions say Agavamalla ran

away to western coast to hide, whereas, the literature says he died submerging in Godavari waters. Therefore, the names of persons and places could be cross-checked with more than one type of evidence.

Combat politics taking place around Kannauj and Manvakheta

A close study of dynasties of the material period shows a pattern that the Northern and Southern dynasties were involved in one way or the other fighting for suzerainty and then sovereignty over Kannauj (also known and mentioned as Kusika, Kusasthala, Kanyakubja) and Manyakheta (Mannaikkadakkam, Maniyakedam, Malkhed, Malgate etc.). Manyakheta was capital for Rastrakutas and then for Western Chalukyas. When Malwas from the north and Cholas from the South were continuously barracking it, the Western Chalukyas moved to Kalyan, near to Western Coast. The Cholas pursued after them to Kalyan. Rajadhiraja-I conquered Kalyan / Kalyanapuram and brought Dwarapalaka as a memento. Historians noted the "tripartite struggle" taking place around Kannauj by the Rastrakutas, Pratihars and Palas. The Rastrakutas were continuously defeating the Gurjaras, Pratihars and Palas eyeing Kannauj. Krishna-I (756-775) marched to Kannauj and brought huge booty but not territory defeating the Gurjaras, Pratihars and the Palas of Bengal. Govinda-III (792-814) also conquered Kannauj and Kanchi. Indra-III (915-927) also defeated the Pratihars and Palas. The Rastrakutas and their relatives formed various kingdoms, dynasties and feudatories like Rastrakutas of Gujarat (757-788), Rattas of Saundatti, Karnataka (875-1230), Hahadavalas of Kannauj (1068-1223), Rastrakutas of Rajputana and others. On the other hand, the Paramara King, Munja Vakpati-II (972-990) defeated the Latas, Karnatas, Cholas and Keralas and brought under his control.⁴⁰ The Gahadavalas were, in fact, Rastrakutas of Kannauj as mentioned above.⁴¹ The Chalukya Jayasimha-II (1015-1043) routed the combined armies of the Cholas, Gangeya (Chedis), and Bhojaraja.⁴² The Cholas conquering Manyakheta has already been mentioned above. Thus, these fraternal, maritally aligned and conjugal feudatories were also engaged in combating politics, hostile skirmishes and dynastic struggles. However, they were

united in opposing the Turks or Mohammedans is evident by the “Turuskadanda,” as discussed above. Incidentally, in the Antarvedi areas,⁴³ in 1019 Mohammed Gazni fought with⁴⁴

1. RaiHardat of Barba or Baran / Bulanshahr
2. Raijaipal of Kannuj
3. ChandalBhor of Asi / Asiriver.
4. CandRai, Sherwa (Saharnapur)
5. Kulachandra, Mahaban (Mathura)
6. Madanapala of Gahadavala dynasty, Antarvedi

Therefore, it is abundantly clear that the Northern and Southern Kings planned to counter the Turuskas, Turks or Mohammedans by all means.

The strategy and logistics of the Cholas marched towards the Ganges and back

How the Cholas could have moved to the Ganges covering 1600 kms distance passing through Andhra, Telinga, Kalinga, Vangadesas has to be studied critically. The “logistics,” i.e., the activity of organising the movement, equipment, and accommodation of troops could be noted easily with the Cholas military and maritime activities.

1. As thousands of soldiers, cavalry, elephants with logistics moved, such a strategy should have been well-organised.
2. Their stay at nights, at required places according to exigencies, crossing rivers, etc., proves the availability of such arrangements already or making by themselves.
3. Food, safety, doctor, and related services available to them or having themselves and moving from place to place.
4. That they returned to Kanchipuram and Tanjore prove the existence of a popular route, roads and facilities in those areas. In Tamil “Rajapattai” (ராஜபாட்டை) has been used to denote “King’s pathway” i.e, the pathway/road where, kings, Rajas, or armies used to go.
5. In other words, Indians of all sorts, traders, businesspeople, pilgrims and travellers always moving from place to place, and there was

disciplined, controlled and well-known pathways with facilities.

6. Nowadays, with all facilities GPRS etc., many times we take a wrong route, return and go in the right route to reach the destination.
7. It could be noted from the inscriptions that there were skirmishes from the western side of south India, as the Chalukyas, Nolumbas, Kadambas, Rastrakutas and others who could have opposed them for such consequences, as such events were not recorded in his march to the Ganges at other places.
8. However, the Rajendra Chola army moved peacefully, as otherwise, the people of those areas would have turned against, had they involved in harassing, attacking, ransacking, looting the public and common people.
9. As they involved in temple building, tank and lake formation, quarrying, employment was provided to the locals etc., and hence they co-operated with the army.
10. Such work, progress and employment activities continued even after the campaign, as the representatives nominated, had taken care of such welfare measurements.
11. As they were for the people, by the people and of the people, the temple building activities and temples stood the backbone of the Cholas Empire, unlike other invading and destroying categories.
12. Jains and Buddhists, though, denied God and Goddesses, they ironically and reportedly budding temples in the same way Hindus did. On the other hand, Mohammedans and Europeans used tern pies as their barracks, garrisons and military camps.

Whether the Confederacy proposed by the Cholas failed?

As the Cholas were interacting with most of the dynasties, it is evident that they tried to form a confederation to fight against the invading Mohammedan forces. R.C. Majumdar⁴⁵ noted that though the Pratiharas stood against their invasion, the other Indian kings were fighting with each other and also against the Paratihars affecting the confederation.

The Cholas were actively engaged in the inland and overseas trade as could be noted from their maritime activities and commercial transactions; they had with the Arabs / Mohammedans, Chinese, Srivijayas, Silendras and others in the SEA countries. The Karnataka, Andhra, Kalinga and Bengal traders and kings also had contacts. The trade guilds were playing a crucial role in such contacts, and the merchant-warriors also played an important task. As the commercial competitions turned into bitter trade-warfare, with vested interests, the Cholas might have perceived an internal threat. The Srivijayas had already proved that they were no longer honest friends of the Cholas and so also the Arab employers. The Quanzhou affairs proved that the Chinese acted against them killing two ambassadors, and ransacking the Tamil trader's settlements.⁴⁶ With their moves towards Indian territories through northwest north-east and the Marakkaayaras turning against them, the Cholas could have visualized and hence formed confederacy to control them by way of Turuskadanda etc., but they did not follow ant code of war-ethics and stroke and molested even the public creating panic, involving sudden, untimely and treacherous attacks. The Cholas, by exercising all sorts of alliances with their counterparts, had done their best, by canvassing, negotiating and taking decisions. However, the disunity among them resulted in the routing of Indian kings. Thus by the 13th century, the Imperial Cholas started disappearing.

Notes and References

1. Tirumalai rock inscription, Polur, North Arcot, Tiruvannamalai District <http://www.whatisindia.com/inscriptions/south indian inscriptions/volume i/polur.html>
2. The manuscript on which Hara PrasadaSastri relies is not a modern one, as it was copied in 1331 CE. Sibani Das Gupta, *The Canda-Kausika of AruaKhemisvara*, Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1962, see the chapter, Authorship and date of the work, p.xiv. About the discussion on Mahipala - I and Rajendra, pp.xlvii-1iii.
3. J.F. Fleet, *Some Records of the Rastrakuta Kings of Malkhed*, in *EpigraphiaIndica*, Vol.VI, pp.108-234 and Vol.VII, (1902-03), pp.198-231.
4. SadasivaPandarattar suggested that Krishnadeva or Kannaradeva might have already been dead and hence, Parantaka became a prince. SadasivaPandarattar, *History of Later Cholas*. Part-I, Annamalai University, 1958, pp.34-35.
5. R. C. Majumdar, *Aae of the Imperial Kanauj*, p.12.
6. Ironically, Vaidumbas too had a marital relationship with the Cholas.
7. *EpigraphiaIndica*, Vol.II, p.303; Vol.III, p.39,111; Vol.VII (1902-03), p.145.
8. Indra defeated Mahipala - I of Kanauj (913-943). Krishna invaded northern India and brought the Paramara ruler, HarsaSiya of Malwa and another. In turn, ParamaraHarsaSiya ransacked Manyakheta (Malkhed) in 972-973.
9. *Benoychandra Sen*, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal (Pre- Muhammadan Epochs)*. University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1942, p.408.
10. H. P. Sastri suggested that the people defeated by Mahipala might have been connected with those Kamtas who are known to have later established their authority in Mithila and Nepal under Nanya.
11. *EpigraphiaIndica*, Vol.IX, pp.178-179. Mentioned as "Chrakut".
12. *EpigraphiaIndica*, Vol.VII, p.136.
13. *VikramangadevaCharitra*, Chapter 3 and 4.
14. *VikramangadevaCharitra*, Chapter 3 and 4.
15. *Kalingattubarani*, 6.14; 10.23; 11.73.
16. நெடி தியலுழியுள் இடைதுறை நாடும் தொடர்வனவேலிப் படர்வன வரசியும் சுள்ளிச் சூழ்மதிற் கொல்லிப்பாக்கையும் நண்ணர்கரு முரண் மண்ணைக் கடக்கம்.....
17. *Epigraphies India*, Vol.XII, p.295, 296, 308.
18. *Epigraphica India*, Vol.XII, p.295.
19. For example, the Cambodian, Thailand and Vietnamese dynasty were started by a Gaundinya Brahmin hailing from South India, Kanchipuram, Karnata. The inscriptions found at Myson, ThupMuoi, local folklores and the Chinese sources point to this fact.
20. *Vikramankadeva*, (Ed. Buhler, III. 74).
21. *Epigraphica India*, Vol.V, p.105.
22. The period of Imperial Cholas is taken as 950-1250 CE as, historians, scholars and Pundits consider that the original Chola dynasty ended with Adhirajendra (1070-1073) and the Chola-Chalukya dynasty started with Kulottunga-1 (1070-1120).
23. *Venkayya*, *Archaeological Survey of India - Annual Reports of the director-general, 1911-12*, pp.173-174.

24. George W. Spencer, *The Politics of Expansion - The Chola Conquest of Sri Lanka and Sri Vijaya*. New Era Publications, Madras, 1983.
25. K.V. Ramakrishna Rao, "Kalinaa-Dravida encounters", a paper presented during National Seminar held at Bhubaneswar from January 23rd to 25th, 2009 on "Living Traditions of Orissa Tribes" (Second state conference of BharatiyaItihasa Sankalana Samiti).
26. M. RaghavaIyengar, *Tamizharum. Andhirarum*. in "Senthamizhi", Vol.22, p.265. and
27. M. RaghavaIyengar, *Tamizharum. Andhirarum (The Tamils and the Andhras*, in "AraychitThoguthi (Research Compilation)", Tamil University, Thanjavur, 1984, pp.311-338.
28. M. Rama Rao, *Karnataka-Andhra relations (220 A.D - 1.12.3 A.D)*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1974.
29. D. C. Ganguly, *Northern India during eleventh and twelfth centuries*, in *The Struggle for Empire*, Vol.V, of *The History and Culture of Indian People*, BharatiyaVidyaBhawan, Bombay, 1989, see. Chap.II.
30. *EpigraphiaIndica*, Vol.App. p.120, No.733, Vol.VIII, App. II, p.22, No. 11.
31. Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, 1906-07, p.87f.
32. Rakhla Das Banerji, *The Palas of Bengal*. Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.V. No.8, p.71.
33. R. D. Banerji, op.cit., pp.71-72.
34. UdayapurPrasasti in EI, I, pp.235 If.
35. DHNI, Vol.I, p.531.
36. Rama Niogi, *The History of Gahadavala Dunastu*, Oriental Publishers, Calcutta, 1959, pp.181-182.
37. NilkanthaSastri, *The Colas II*, p.40.
38. B. R. Majumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India (1030-1194 AD)*, Firma KLM, Calcutta, 1960, pp.126,127,237.
39. The precise nature of the turuskadanda remains problematic; most likely it was either a tax levied to defend against Afghan invasions (Vincent Smith, *History of India*, 1924: p.400) or a tax levied on the Afghan settlers in the Gahadavala dominions (cf. StenKonow, *EpigraphiaIndica*Vol.IX. p.321).
40. C. V.Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol.III, p.211. and D. C. Ganguly, *Struggle for Empire*, p.51.
41. *EpigraphiaIndica*, Vol.I, pp.235, 237, Vol.V, p.12.
42. Roma Niogi, *The History of GahadavalaDunastu*, Oriental Publishers, Calcutta, 1959, p.30. She also discussed the theories for and against this view, see. Ibid, pp.30-33.
43. *EpigraphiaIndica*, Vol.XV, pp.330-356.
44. Indar-dar-bandimIndar-bedi, Antarvedi was the land between the Ganges and the Jumna rivers with Gadhipur or Kanyakubja.
45. Roma Niogi, *The History of Gahadavala Dynasty*, see Chapter-I, *Political History of Antarvedi and Varanasi 1000-1089*.
46. C. Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Kanuj*. BharatiyaVidyaBhawan, Vol.IV, 1955, pp.85, 508. In 939, as the Hindu kings fought against Sabuktijin, they could not do so against Gaxni.
47. K.V. Ramakrishna Rao, *The Mysterious deaths of Chola Ambassadors at Quanzhou*. PTNHC, Cuddalore, 2014, pp.79-86.